

THE “CONDER” TOKEN

COLLECTOR'S JOURNAL

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONDER TOKEN COLLECTOR'S CLUB

Volume IX Number 1 Spring, 2004 Consecutive Issue #31



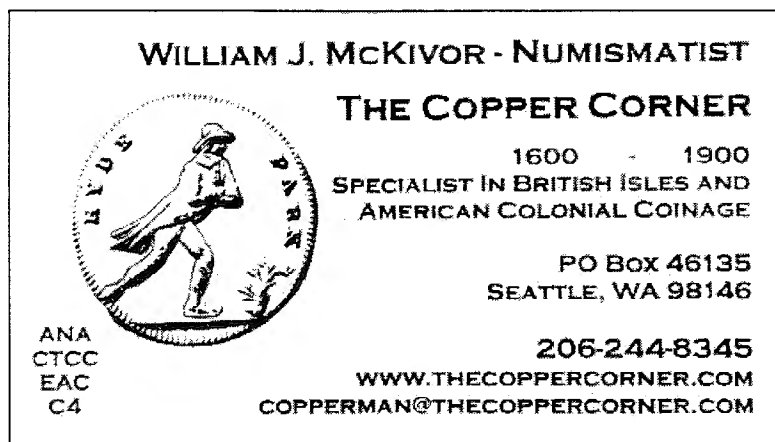
STATUE OF THOMAS PAINE (1737-1809)
IN HIS BIRTHPLACE
THETFORD TOWN, NORFOLK, ENGLAND

BILL McKIVOR—CTCC #3.

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Spring 2004

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INTRODUCTION

Michael Grogan

With this edition of the CTCC Journal we are proud to include the 2004 member medal in copper. The medal features a striking Druid reminiscent of the Anglesea tokens and our traditional Swan reverse. Phil Flanagan and Harold Welch were the driving force behind this year's medal and they well deserve our thanks. Two hundred fifty medals were struck in copper, along with twenty-five in silver and [for the first time] ten gilt were made. Information about ordering these rare and beautiful medals in silver and gilt versions can be found on page 13 in this issue. Your purchase supports the club and helps defray the cost of producing the club medal. Place your order early to avoid disappointment, as supplies are obviously very limited.

Plan now to attend the A.N.A. Convention in Pittsburgh August 18-22. The traditional CTCC meeting will begin Friday the 20th at 6:30 p.m. in Room 235 of the David L. Lawrence Convention Center with pizza and beer to follow. This is a great opportunity to meet and talk tokens with fellow collectors. We are hoping for a big turnout this year at this educational and entertaining event.

As always, your article is needed for the Journal. There are excellent examples in this issue, and I will be glad to help any member get started or polish his contribution. Articles may be scholarly and/or entertaining on any aspect of Conder collecting. Send your work to Mike Grogan 6501 Middleburg Ct Mobile AL 36608 USA or by email to mngrogan@comcast.net. You will enjoy being a published author!

IN THIS ISSUE

A two part "Token Tales" by R.C. Bell begins the story of Thomas Paine, to be concluded in the next issue. George Selgin's explanation of "Britain's Big Problem" continues along with our series of Skidmore Churches by Simon Monks. Dick Bartlett tells the story of Admiral Duncan and Tom Fredette compares "An Even Dozen" Conder tokens to similar Unofficial Farthings. "The Eighteenth Century Posture Master" features a period advertisement for such a performance from Rictor Norton's extensive archive of original newspaper articles, illustrations and advertisements – well worth a look at <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/grub/grub.htm>. Stephen Reids describes excavations searching for the original Soho Mint of Boulton and Watt. Finally, a recurring feature debuts displaying classic token literature- this time Charles Pye's 1796 title page and the exceptionally rare prospectus that promoted the work prior to it's publication.

ON THE COVER

Although considered a hero by three nations [Great Britain, France and the United States] only five statues worldwide honor Thomas Paine. Our cover photo by Paul Brooker is of the statue in Paine's birthplace, Thetford, Norfolk, U.K. Paul's website offers a virtual photographic tour of this beautiful and historic town. You can take the tour at <http://www.aoqv41.dsl.pipex.com/album/thetford.htm>

From the President's Desk:

I hope everyone is pleased with the our new 2004 CTCC Medal, free to all of our club members whose dues are current. I find it beautiful and very appropriate, as the Druid figure is certainly one of the most recognizable and significant in Conder collecting.

Once again, we are all indebted to the efforts of Harold Welch, who is the central figure in pulling the whole thing off. Thank you also to Founding Father Phil Flanagan, CTCC 009, who has been able to get all of our medals since the 1999 Lady Godiva, designed by a professional engraver.

There are still a very few medals left for only \$25.00, so please get in touch with Harold and get yours before they are all gone. I am truly thrilled with my club medals, and consider them a part of my collection no less important than my most favorite Conders.

I would also like to thank the following individuals for their important literary contributions to our last CTCC Journal, Issue #30:

A posthumous thank you to Mr. R.C. Bell, CTCC 200, for the TOKEN TALES article on Wellington, The 'Iron Duke.' It is impossible to imagine Conder Tokens as we know them today without Mr. Bell's enormous influence.

Mr. Simon Monks, CTCC 403, for his article on Skidmore Churches. One could build an impressive Conder collection just on these coins alone.

Professor George Selgin, CTCC 401 for Britain's Big Problem, Part One. With a cabinet of Campbell Soup, Band-Aid, and Del-Monte cans full of quarters, nickels, dimes and penny's, it's hard to understand a coin 'shortage.' Looking forward to Part Two Professor. (I encourage our members to visit Professor Selgin's very interesting Website at <http://www.terry.uga.edu/~selgin>).

Mr. Eric P. Newman for An American Numismatic Rarity Tale. Recently, one of our members has expressed interest in reading some articles on Conder Tokens known to have been, or suspected of having been issued in gold. Do we have anyone who would like to take on this research?

Mr. A.W. 'Tony' Fox, CTCC 439 for More on the Havering Ha'penny. From his article: "With a life-long interest in the history of Essex, and as a former schoolboy at Hornchurch Grammar school"... We are thrilled to have you as a new member, and look forward to hearing more from you in the future.

Mr. Tom Fredette, CTCC 060, for The Conder" Treasure Trove and the solutions. Tom is a real 'Treasure' himself, consistently offering up interesting articles for our Journal since his first article in issue #4, back in May of 1997, titled How I started collecting. Keep collecting and keep writing Tom.

Mr. Dick Bartlett, CTCC 104, for Galen of Pergamum. Another valuable long-term contributing member, Dick has been contributing to the "health and well-being" of our club with unique articles since his first in Issue #2, way back in November of 1996 titled A Face Behind The 18th Century. Thank you Dick for more great writing.

Mr. Mike Grogan, CTCC 048, for The Birmingham Poet, and for taking over as our new editor. I hope everyone will offer Mike their unqualified support as he accepts the responsibilities of this very tough and very important job.

Important Kudos must also go to Founding Fathers Bill McKivor, CTCC 003, and Allan Davisson, CTCC 006, both very active supporters of our club, and new members Morton & Eden, CTCC 438, for the paid ads they placed. The ad space they purchase in the Journal provides financial assistance that the club simply cannot replace or do without. I am very grateful to you all for your support.

I strongly encourage all of our dealer members who buy from and sell to our Conder Token Collector membership for profit, to consider expanding your advertising beyond the free ad spaces in the Journal. This is an opportunity to enhance your own business potential, and expresses tangible support for all of the collectors who help to support you.

In terms of the number of active collectors that can be reached on a regular basis, I believe the Journal's ad space is a true bargain.

Sincerely,
GM



Correspondence From The Mailbag

Dear Mike,

---I caught a very interesting show recently on the History Channel International, under the title History Explorer - Time Team. From what I gathered about the show, the Time Team is a regular group of archeologists that do digs on a variety of subjects and try to accomplish as much as possible in just three days. On this episode, the subject at hand was the Soho Mint of Matthew Boulton and James Watt in Birmingham. The group of archeologists began their three days by obtaining resident and business permission to dig up backyards and business fronts in the, what is now, Birmingham neighborhood in search of the original foundation of the Soho Mint complex. All residents seemed eager to go along and find out what type of history lay beneath their gardens and concrete patios. The show did promise to put everything back as it was when done. With the help of local historical groups, along with, records and maps found at Soho House (Boulton's residence and the only original building still standing) they found some original building foundation, steam engine water well, the shaft ditch for the engine, blank planchets and some cut outs. To their surprise however, once they began digging, they discovered that all of the old maps (and consequently the modern maps) were 14 feet off (they never did discover why, other than lack of perpetual accuracy), so they couldn't find as much as they had hoped to due to the three day time constraints and time wasted digging in wrong locations. The good news is that based on what they did find and identify and using modern 3D mapping based on the Mint's blue print records, they now have remapped, correctly, the entire Soho Mint complex. You never know what you'll find at 1am doing a channel surf.----

Stephen Reids
CTCC# 305

TO: Harold Welch, Conder Token Club Collector Editor, Vice President, and Librarian.

FROM: Gregg Moore

I would like to take this opportunity to express my personal appreciation to the following individual:

Mr. Harold Welch CTCC #014

When our club lost Wayne Anderson, CTCC 001, we lost among many other important things, our fledgling CTCC Journal's very fine editor. We might have lost control of things right then and there, but for Harold Welch who stepped into the breach during Wayne's illness. Harold took control of Journal Issue #11 to see it completed, prepared Issue #12 on his own, and hit full stride by Issue #13, which as you all know was our club's tribute edition to Wayne. Harold has been doing a spectacular job ever since, with Journal Issue #30 representing his 20th consecutive effort. Pretty amazing for a guy who agreed to take over the Journal "for about a year or so."

I know that even through his own illness and a major operation, Harold has kept the ball rolling. But not just that, as though that were not enough. I am sure that we have all noticed the many Journal improvements over time, as evidenced by our last Consecutive Issue #30, which in my view stands among our best Journals ever.

I want to personally, in writing and in a public forum, acknowledge Harold's hard work and dedication to a difficult and very time consuming job. Most of us, including myself, probably have no real appreciation for the hours and hours of time required to maintain the timeliness, quality, and integrity of our Journal, which is the 'heartbeat' of our unique club.

Please remember that Harold is not paid in any way for these hundreds of hours of work. All of that time is a personal, unpaid donation to the success of our club. And I would venture to guess, based upon my own personal experiences, that many ancillary expenses end up simply being out of pocket, in order to get the job done. This is all pursued on behalf of each and every member of the club, to enhance and advance their opportunities as collectors. But the story does not end here!

Harold also formed and has managed our club's library of valuable numismatic resource materials since our club's inception; a truly terrific resource which is available for any club member to access at any time, as they need or desire. And he is writing a book on Conder resource reference materials as well. But the story will not end here either!

As you know, Harold is now our new club Vice-President, and will continue as our librarian even as he passes on the duties of the editor position to Mike Grogan, of whom I have quickly learned is ready to fill Harold's large and capable shoes. Even though these positions are unpaid, I do not believe that they should be allowed to be thankless ones. I hope that everyone who has benefited from Harold's hard work will take a few moments to acknowledge him personally via letter, thank-you note, email, or letter to the editor.

It can rarely be said that any one individual is indispensable: However, I do not hesitate to say of Harold that our club simply "could not have done it without you".

Thank you good sir,

Gregg Moore

Paine in Revolutionary America

By R.C. Bell

Newcastle upon Tyne, England



English token bearing bust of Paine when he was about 50.

On June 30, 1734, a 26-year-old staymaker married the 37-year-old daughter of an attorney at Euston parish, neat Thetford in Norfolk. Joseph was a Quaker and Frances was a member of the Church of England. This strange union of a workingman and a middle class lady 11 years his senior lasted more than 50 years until Joseph Paine's death in 1786.

Their son Thomas was born in a small house on White Hart street, Thetford, January 29, 1737. A year later a sister was born but she died in infancy and young Tom grew up as an only child in the sober Quaker household. He attended the local grammar school when he was six. As he had no ability in learning languages he did not study Latin, turning instead to science. He left school at 13 and was apprenticed as a staymaker, a complex craft requiring proficiency and skill in the cutting out and use of silk, linen, calico, and linsey-woolsey fabrics.

The customer was measured with a tape and a pattern prepared, which was retained in the shop and the stays fashioned to it. These were made from

whalebone, the finished garment requiring strength to control the abdomen, and flexibility to permit movement.

After nearly five years in his father's shop Tom ran away to Harwich and volunteered for service on the privateer "Terrible". His father arrived before the vessel sailed and took him home again. On this cruise the "Terrible" encountered a French warship and lost 175 of her 200 crew members.

Two years later, in 1756, Tom ran away again and joined the privateer "King of Prussia", but was sent to sea for less than a year. In 1757 he was working as a journeyman staymaker for one Morris, owner of an establishment on Hanover Street, London. In 1758 he went to Dover, working for a staymaker named Grace. In April, 1759 he opened his own shop on borrowed money in Sandwich. In September he married an orphan, Mary Lambert, a lady's maid. Paine's little staymaking business failed and the newlyweds moved to Margate where the bride of less than a year died in 1760.

Soon afterward Paine gave up staymaking and became an exciseman-inspecting and measuring taxable commodities. In 1761 he was a supernumerary officer of excise and in 1762 was appointed gauger of brewers' casks. Two years later he was stationed at Alford to watch for smuggling. His salary, after deductions was only 12 shillings sixpence [then \$3.15] a week. Excisemen frequently practiced "stamping"- accepting a dealer's word

for the amount of taxable goods he had in stock, and stamping his papers without physical measurement. On one occasion a superior found that Paine had "stamped" a victualer's papers without an examination. When charged he admitted his fault freely, but added that the daily rounds were so long that he could not cover them otherwise. He was discharged instantly after serving as a supernumerary officer for three years and holding full rank for about a year.



American cent of 1795. Liberty's cap is behind head.



Now 28, Thomas Paine was without money and out of work, but soon obtained employment as a staymaker in the Norfolk town of Diss. In 1766 he taught English grammar and composition in the academy of one Noble in London earning 10 shillings a week. Then he held a post as teacher in the Gardiner school in Kensington. In February 1768, when he was 31, he re-entered the excise service and was stationed at Lewes in Sussex, where he lodged with Samuel Ollive, a Quaker who owned a tobacco shop in Bull lane.

Paine became friendly with Thomas Rickman, who later wrote in his reminiscences of Paine that the latter always seemed to be in a hurry when on his official rounds. An ink bottle dangled from a button hole in his coat, and he carried a stick covered with figures for measuring. Paine joined an informal club which met at the White Hart tavern, and became noted for his clever arguments and ability in debates. These were usually on political or economic subjects and Paine became a local celebrity.

In 1769 Samuel Ollive died, leaving his tobacco business to his wife and three children. Tobacco leaf was bought in casks and worked up on the premises. In the basement was a snuff mill and other equipment. The widow failed to manage the business and Paine tried to help by becoming a part owner of the shop. Soon they were selling groceries and other supplies to try to make ends meet, but month after month the little business sank deeper into debt. On March 26, 1771, Paine married Ollive's elder daughter, Elizabeth. The bridal pair lived with Mrs. Ollive in Bull lane.

In 1772 Paine became the spokesman for excisemen who were trying to obtain higher wages. He spent many weeks preparing a paper to present to Parliament called "The Case of the Officers of Excise", but as there were many applicants for places in the service the commissioners stated that any officer wishing to leave the service might do so, and the effort came to nothing. Paine became regarded as a trouble maker and the commissioners waited for a chance to dismiss him. Meanwhile the shop failed and writs were issued against Paine for debt. He left Lewes suddenly, either to raise money or to avoid his creditors, and the Excise board seized

the opportunity to dismiss him from the service for being absent without leave.



Obverse of American token struck in England, bearing bust of General George Washington.

Paine made all his possessions over to his creditors and they were sold at Lewes on April 14, 1774. The list of goods included furniture, stock in trade [tobacco and groceries], a tobacco and snuff mill, and two unopened crates of cream colored stoneware, leaving him with only the clothes he wore. Two months later Elizabeth left him and went to live with her brother, a watchmaker in Cranbrook, Kent. Paine would never disclose the reason for separation, but for the rest of his life he sent her money without her knowing its source.

In June 1774, Paine went to London and three months later left as a cabin passenger in the ship "London Packet" for Philadelphia. No one could have foreseen the future that lay ahead of this lonely man as he watched England disappear over the horizon. The hold contained 120 indentured servants and the voyage lasted nine weeks. "Putrid fever" broke out among the immigrants and five died. Paine contracted the disease which may have been typhoid, and upon arrival could not leave his berth. A letter of introduction from Benjamin Franklin, whom Paine had met on several occasions in England, to his son-in-law Richard Bache, quickly brought help, though it was three weeks before Paine could leave his room.



American token struck in England about 1796, the so-called Kentucky token. Each star on reverse bears the initials of a state in the Union. K, Kentucky. RI, Rhode Island. V, Vermont. V, Virginia. NY, New York. NC, North Carolina. M, Massachusetts. Md, Maryland. SC, South Carolina. NH, New Hampshire. D, Delaware. NJ, New Jersey. P, Pennsylvania. G, Georgia. C, Connecticut.

Philadelphia was the largest and wealthiest community in America with some 35,000 inhabitants, and Paine became the editor of a new monthly, "The Pennsylvania Magazine" which started in January 1775. His salary was £50 a year. He remained editor for about six months and in this time wrote most of the articles himself under a series of pseudonyms, including: Atlanticus, Aesop and Vox Populi. In this period he wrote articles on emancipation of women; uselessness of dueling as a means of settling disputes – his solution to the foolish custom being the automatic hanging of the survivor for murder; evils of monarchy and hereditary titles; prevention of cruelty to animals; and abolition of slavery in America. This latter article appeared in the "Pennsylvania Journal," not magazine, in March; within a few days of its appearance the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed. The article angered Southern plantation owners, and New England shipping interest who sent their vessels to Africa and transported considerable numbers of slaves to Carolina and Georgia.



Medalet struck by Boulton at Soho Mint, diesinker Dumarest, for sale by Monneron firm in Paris. Around bust of Lafayette is: LAFAYETTE DEPUTE A L'ASS. NAT. CONSTITUANTE. NE EN 1757 (Lafayette, deputy to National Constituent Assembly, born in 1757).

Paine, however, was soon occupied with other matters. Disputes broke out between the colonists and the British Government over taxation, and troops were moved to strategic positions. Paine wrote a pamphlet called "Common Sense" which underlined the folly of Americans taking orders from a power overseas, and being governed by rules unsuited to their country. The first part dealt with the nature of government and inefficiency of monarchical systems; the second part with stupidity of such British regulations as those controlling sale of tobacco, making of hats, manufacture of iron into machinery, tools and other finished products; and the proclamation of 1763 prohibiting expansion westwards beyond the Alleghenies.

"Common Sense" was read avidly by the colonists and united them into a nation. Its publication was the greatest single factor leading to the independence of America, and a counterblast of Tory pamphlets trying to decry the work and its author failed completely. Paine's arrangements with his printer were unsatisfactory, and although the work was a best seller, he made little or no profit from it.

In July 1776, Paine entered military service as secretary to General Roberdeau, commander of the Flying Camp, a force used for rapid support movements. Later he became aide-de-camp to General Nathaniel Greene. Although an active member of staff, Paine began to write a series of pamphlets in the evening and at odd moments known as the "Crises", designed to inspire the revolutionary soldiers in the face of repeated defeats. In November 1776, the American cause seemed lost, but the surprise victory at Trenton on Christmas Eve was a turning point in the war. Paine's first "Crisis" was published a few days before the winter crossing of the Delaware and helped to inspire disheartened patriots. In all, 13 "Crisis" articles appeared at irregular intervals. In the last he advocated a union of the colonies, and coined the potent phrase, UNITED STATES.

In April 1777, Paine became secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs at a salary of \$70 a month. He held this post for two years, resigning on January 3, 1779 and then had to borrow money to buy food and candles and to pay his laundry and rent. To make matters worse between 1775 and 1780 there was a runaway inflation. Paper money poured from the presses while prices rose every week. Paine records paying \$300 for a pair of woolen socks. Shopkeepers had four prices for everything: the lowest being in Spanish silver dollars; then British money; then Continental currency; and the highest price was to the holder of state paper money.

A comedian had a complete suit made of worthless notes, and young gallants lighted their cigars with dollar bills.

In 1779 Paine was elected clerk to the new Pennsylvania Assembly. On the first day of the sessions a bill was introduced to abolish slavery in the state. This became law on March 1, 1780, and 6,000 slaves were freed.

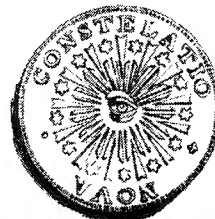
The war, however, was going badly. On May 28, 1780, Washington wrote to Joseph Reed that "... every idea you can form of our distress will fall short of the reality. There is such a combination of circumstances to exhaust the patience of the soldiery that it begins at length to be worn out, and we see in every line of the army the most serious features of mutiny and sedition..."

Paine's reaction was to draw the whole of his salary of \$1,669 from the state treasurer and head a subscription list with \$500 for the relief of the army. Others followed, and the "army fund" became a social must. Ladies organized "The American Daughters of Liberty" and collected money, food and clothing from every citizen in Philadelphia. More than 300,000 pounds were raised.

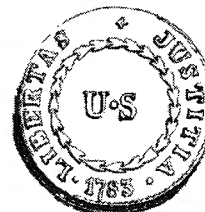
On July 4, 1780, Paine was made a Master of Arts by the University of Pennsylvania. A little later he resigned his clerkship to the Pennsylvania Assembly and on February 11, 1781 sailed in the frigate 'Alliance' as private Secretary to John Laurens on a secret mission to France to enlist her aid in the struggle against Britain. Paine acted as counselor, but had no official standing; The success of the mission, however was largely due to him. The French ministry gave 2,500,000 silver livres and two shiploads of supplies. On arrival in America the money was carried in 16 ox-carts from Boston to Philadelphia. Confidence returned, business improved, Washington's soldiers received their back pay. A French army under Rochambeau marched from Newport to

join General Washington, and Lafayette drove Cornwallis into the trap of Yorktown, where the latter surrendered October 19, 1781.

In January 1782 Paine received an allowance of \$300 a year from the Secret Service Fund, in return for acting as a press agent for the central government and publishing occasional comments on public affairs. Paine managed to save enough money to buy a small cottage at Bordentown in New Jersey, standing in a tenth of an acre of land. He lived there at intervals for several years, usually taking his meals in the house of his friend, Col. Joseph Kirkbride. Each day he rode in the neighborhood on his beloved horse, Button, and was greatly respected by the men and women of the little New Jersey town.



Obverse of Nova Constellatio cent token issued on the order of Gouverneur Morris, circa 1784.



Reverse of Nova Constellatio piece. Gouverneur Morris was once assistant financier of the Confederation and later American minister in Paris, 1792-1794. Morris was a bitter opponent of Paine.

In the spring of 1784 the state of New York gave Paine a farm of 277 acres with a handsome house near the town of New Rochelle, in recognition of his services to America. In December 1784 the state of Pennsylvania voted him a gratuity of 500 pounds; and on October

3, 1785, Congress paid him \$3,000 for his services during the war. He was 78, and for the first time in his life he was free from immediate financial worries.



English token depicting a kneeling Negro slave in chains, who asks, AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER.

Paine's hobby was mechanics. He invented a planing machine, an improved carriage wheel, a crane, and an unusually bright candle with three air channels to increase the rate of oxidation. His great chance came in 1784 when the citizens of Philadelphia decided to bridge the 400-foot-wide Schuylkill River. Various plans were submitted, all being of wooden bridges, resting on a number of stone piers, except for one, a fantastic conception of an iron bridge spanning the distance with a single arch, the necessary strength being achieved by a lattice of iron girders. Paine hired an English mechanic, John Hall, to help him build a model of the bridge in cast iron, and they worked together at Bordentown for more than a year. By Christmas 1786 a 13 foot model was finished, fastened onto a sleigh and taken to Philadelphia where it was set up in the garden of Benjamin Franklin's house on Market street.

A committee inspected the model and was favorably impressed, but the enterprise was so novel that they feared

to recommend it. The success of the model was undoubted, but this was only 13 feet and the river was 400. Besides, no one knew how much such a structure would cost. Paine's plans called for 520 tons of metal; a large order for an infant iron-smelting industry to satisfy. Month after month decision on the bridge was shelved.

Meanwhile, Paine was building a new model of wrought iron, and in April 1787 sailed to France to show it to the Academy of Sciences, hoping that a bridge to his design would be built across the Seine. A committee deliberated for several months, and reported favorably, but would not take the responsibility for recommending the building of such a structure.

Disappointed, Paine sent the model to Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society in London; hoping to find an English iron-master who would construct the bridge for him. In August 1788 Paine applied for a patent to protect his invention, and this, number 1668, was granted in September.



English private token commemorates opening of bridge across the Wear, 1796.

Paine and an American merchant, Peter Whiteside, decided to build a bridge to Paine's design and set it up in London where all might see and test it. After months of negotiations a contract was placed with Walker Ironworks at Rotherham in Yorkshire, to construct a bridge with a span of 110 feet. Paine remained at the works for weeks until

the bridge was in a state when it could be completed by the firm's skilled mechanics. It was erected on Paddington green and opened to the public in June, 1790. Any one might walk across it for a shilling, and drag weights over it to test its strength, these fees added up to a considerable sum, but they benefited Walker, not Paine. For three years, Paine had been absorbed in the construction of this engineering wonder. Suddenly he turned again to politics and took no further interest in his brainchild.

In 1796 a bridge with a span of 236 feet was built across the Wear, using Paine's patented design, and also materials from the Paddington green bridge which was sold by Walker for this purpose.

By then, Paine had been condemned to death in absentia and others took credit for his invention. This bridge was finally demolished in 1929 when a new bridge replaced it. For 133 years Paine's bridge provided constant service.

MEMBER MEDALS IN PRECIOUS METAL



The 2004 member medal is available in silver and gilt versions.

Twenty- five silver and ten gilt medals were produced and are priced at \$25 each. This is the first time gilt medals have been produced. Since supply is very limited, please confirm your order with Harold Welch to ensure availability.

Harold Welch
Tokenmann@aol.com
655 Parkwood Circle
St. Paul MN 55127
[651] 429-0997

The Club also has available six silver 1999 medals [Lady Godiva] and four silver 2001 medals [Wayne Anderson] at \$25 each.

Each medal has the traditional Swan reverse design.

An Except From

GOOD MONEY

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF HOW SOME

BIRMINGHAM BUTTON MAKERS

BEAT

GRESHAM'S LAW

DURING THE

LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THEREBY SOLVING GREAT BRITAIN'S LONG-STANDING

SMALL CHANGE PROBLEM

AND CLEARING THE WAY FOR

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

WITH PARTICULARS OF THE PRIVATE MINTS' ORGANIZATION, PRODUCTION,
COIN DESIGNS, AND COINAGE TECHNIQUES

AS WELL AS SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL DEVOTED TO

EXPLODING MYTHS

CONCERNING

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR A SUCCESSFUL SMALL-CHANGE SYSTEM,

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF

MATTHEW BOULTON, F.R.S.,

AND

THE ROLE PLAYED BY STEAM POWER

By George Selgin, B.A., Ph.D.,

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA'S TERRY COLLEGE OF BUSINESS

(SELGIN@UGA.EDU)

AUTHOR OF THE THEORY OF FREE BANKING, BANK DEREGULATION AND MONETARY ORDER, AND LESS THAN
ZERO: THE CASE FOR A FALLING PRICE LEVEL IN A GROWING ECONOMY.

ATHENS, GEORGIA:

THE AUTHOR

2004.

PART TWO CONTINUED FROM ISSUE 30

"Let the Vulgar Wait"

The shortage of silver coin meant that copper halfpennies and farthings were needed not only for most transactions below sixpence, but also to take the place of missing silver coin in larger wage and retail payments. On paper, as we have seen, the Mint's copper coins were supposed to be full-bodied, allowance being made for coining charges or brassage only; in fact, their nominal value, at 46 halfpennies (or 92 farthings) per pound (avoirdupois) of copper, was for most of the century roughly twice the market value of the copper they contained. They too were mere tokens, in other words; and ones that again proved all too easy to counterfeit. While fraudulent coppers multiplied, authentic copper coins grew more and more scarce as the 18th century unfolded, partly because many genuine copper coins, "underweight" as they were, were melted down to be turned into still-lighter fakes, but also because the Mint periodically chose to stop coining copper altogether, and did so even while industry pleaded for more. Consequently there were never enough good regal copper coins around to make very small change with, let alone to fill the void left by the shortage of decent silver.

Some coinage historians have blamed the Royal Mint's sporadic and meager copper coin output on the government's disdain for the metal, which Mint officers condemned as "base in virtue and dishonorable" (Powell, p. 50). British monarchs are also supposed to have considered it beneath their dignity to have their images stamped on such an "unworthy" material. There is something to this view, for although the Royal Mint first began to make copper coins in 1672, as late as 1782 Mint officials could insist, with some justice, that copper coinage was not an activity "properly belonging to the Mint" (Craig 1953, p. 250). The fact is that copper coins were never provided for in any Mint indenture. Instead, their production was treated by the Mint as well as by Parliament as an extracurricular affair, which was undertaken on terms set out in specific contracts, called Royal warrants, drawn between Mint officials and the Crown, albeit typically procured by the Treasury in response to public demands for small change (Craig 1953, pp. 175, 250). Thus, although the King was in truth not averse to having his portrait done on copper, Parliament would not include the costs of any such portrait in its regular budget.

There may, in addition, have been what is nowadays termed a "public choice" motivation behind Parliament's disdain for copper: it was, after all, money for the middling and especially the poorer classes, and the poor had no clout. What most well-heeled citizens wanted were gold guineas and silver crowns, the former for large payments, especially among gentlemen; the latter (if good) for melting and export and (if bad) for other commercial transactions:

'Tis Gold buys Votes, or they'd have swarmed ere now,
Copper serves only for the meaner Sort of People;
Copper never goes at Court.
And since one shilling can full Twelve Pence weigh,
Silver is better in *Germany*.
'Tis true the Vulgar seek it, What of that?
They are not Statesmen,--let the Vulgar wait. (Anon. 1739)

Table 1: Royal Mint Copper Coin Production, 1729-1775

Year	Farthings			Halfpennies			Total		
	Tons	Cwt.	No.*	Tons	Cwt.	No.*	Tons	Cwt.	£
1729	-	-	-	8	15	901,600	8	15	1,878
1730	1	15	360,640	28	14	2,957,248	30	10	6,547
1731	1	10	309,120	29	9	3,034,528	30	19	6,644
1732	1	19	401,856	26	15	2,756,320	28	14	6,161
1733	5	1	1,040,704	24	8	2,514,176	29	9	6,322
1734	2	8	494,592	48	5	4,971,680	50	13	10,873
1735	3	19	814,016	43	14	4,502,848	47	13	10,234
1736	6	6	1,298,340	34	5	3,529,120	40	11	8,710
1737	4	-	824,320	22	5	2,292,640	26	5	5,635
1738	-	-	-	24	8	2,498,720	24	8	5,238
1739	4	3	855,232	40	8	4,204,032	44	11	9,563
1740	-	-	-	42	6	4,358,592	42	6	9,080
1741	1	-	206,080	7	12	783,104	8	12	1,846
1742	-	-	-	8	17	911,904	8	17	1,900
1743	-	-	-	36	6	3,740,352	36	6	7,792
1744	3	6	680,064	24	13	2,472,960	27	19	6,000
1745	-	1	10,304	30	17	3,178,784	30	18	6,633
1746	4	12	947,968	30	5	3,116,960	34	18	7,492
1747	-	-	-	42	16	4,410,112	42	16	9,188
1748	-	-	-	28	10	2,936,640	28	10	6,118
1749	4	11	937,664	38	3	3,930,976	42	14	9,166
1750	2	14	525,540	19	13	2,024,736	22	7	4,803
1751	-	-	-	32	4	3,317,888	32	4	6,918
1752	-	-	-	37	18	3,905,216	37	18	8,141
1753	-	-	-	40	6	4,152,512	37	18	8,651
1754	1	19	401,856	17	14	1,823,808	19	13	4,229
1755-61	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1762	10	8.5	2,148,480	-	-	-	10	8.5	2,238
1763	7	5.75	1,501,440	-	-	-	7	5.75	1,564
1764-69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1770	-	-	-	9	-	927,360	9	-	1,932
1771	-	7	72,128	55	-	5,703,264	55	7	11,882
1772	-	-	-	50	10	5,203,520	50	10	10,841
1773	9	12	2,029,888	39	13	4,055,360	49	10	10,626
1774	2	10	515,200	24	0	2,472,960	26	10	5,689
1775	2	15	566,720	22	16	2,349,312	25	11	5,485
Total	82	8.15	16,982,538	970	9.6	99,998,259	1052	17.75	226,019

Note: *Estimated values, based on coinage at 23d/lb. copper. Because Mint output consisted of Irish farthings and some halfpence produced at 26d/lb. copper, the actual figures may have been higher.

Furthermore the moneyers themselves stood to profit more from coining gold and silver than from coining copper, for prior to 1799 the Master of the Mint was paid a commission on output, which he shared with the moneyers, and prior to 1770 that commission was proportional to the *value* of money being struck, rather than the number of pieces (Ashton 1955, pp. 167-8). Coining costs, on the other hand, tended to be proportional to the number of pieces struck, rather than to their value: putting material costs aside, a farthing cost almost as much to make as a guinea. Consequently both the Master and the moneyers preferred to devote their efforts to making coins of the largest denominations. Indeed, they might never have begun coining copper at all, sticking instead to gold and silver while winking at private manufacturers of unofficial copper tokens, had the Privy Council not ordered the first state-sponsored copper coinage, suppressing private issues at the same time.

But the Mint's disdain for copper, considerable though it may have been, was just one aspect of a more complicated picture. In fact, although Parliament did not directly provide for any copper coinage prior to the nineteenth century, from 1672 onwards Mint officials were routinely authorized to produce copper coins by means of Royal warrants (Craig 174). The copper coins thus authorized bore Royal portraits, albeit ones that typically showed the King bust left instead of bust right (as he always appeared on official gold and silver coins).¹ Furthermore, although the Mint produced very little copper coin (and none of any denomination below six pence) between 1700 and 1728, it issued consequential, if far from adequate, quantities of farthings or halfpennies each year from 1729 to 1753 and again during the periods 1762-1763 and 1770-1775 (Table 1).²

What needs to be explained, therefore, is not simply the Mint's low regard for copper coin, which alone might have caused it to completely refrain from issuing such coin, but its having been willing to produce such coin, but only sporadically. The explanation is twofold. First, the fiduciary or token nature of Royal copper coins (that is, the fact that they were valued at over twice their metallic worth) together with their indifferent if not wretched quality caused them to be aggressively though often crudely counterfeited. Moreover it caused many legitimate copper coins to be melted down and turned into a larger nominal stock of lightweight fakes. The Mint thus found itself inadvertently boosting the output of spurious copper coins whenever it endeavored to augment the quantity (and improve the average quality) of genuine ones. Second, both real and counterfeit Regal coppers tended to make their way into retailers' strongboxes, and especially into those of London public houses, where they accumulated: banks wanted nothing to do with them, and because genuine copper coins, and especially badly worn ones that were allowed to remain current, could be easily and profitably imitated, the Mint never seriously entertained the idea of providing for their redemption. Furthermore, as Sir John Craig (1953, p. 250) points out, "no substantial transaction could be negotiated nor Bill of Exchange bought with coppers, and they were refused for

¹ England's officially authorized copper coins, half farthings introduced in 1613, were issued, not by the Royal Mint but by Lord Harrington under a lucrative patent awarded to him for the purpose by James I. On the fate of Lord Harrington's coins see Carlile (1901, pp. 145-6).

² Copper pennies would not be issued on government account until 1797, and would not be produced by the Royal Mint itself until 1817.

tax and excise." In consequence, by mid-century many London retailers found themselves "burdened with £50 to £500 each of halfpence." The same thing happened in the half-decade or so leading up to 1763 as well as during the one ending in 1775.

It was in response to complaints by London retailers, and also in order to stop the flow of raw material to counterfeiters, that the Mint ceased producing copper coins from 1701 to the accession of George I in 1717, and again from 1755 to 1762, and yet again from 1764 through 1769, and finally for the remainder of the century beginning in 1775. Each of these attempts to relieve London retailers of their burden of surplus coins was, however, met by a renewed chorus of complaints, this time from different sources. For many tradespersons and, in the last-mentioned episode especially, larger manufacturers and mines, now found themselves shorter than ever of good coin for making change or for paying their workers. Indeed, even when the Mint was producing copper coin, the coin

might never get to some places where it was most needed, for Royal warrants made no provision for the *distribution* of copper coins, delivering them, in 5s and 10s packets, at the Tower only. That made Tower halfpence a bad deal for anyone outside of London, since the Mint "sold" these coins at their full face value. Many provincial manufacturers, and especially those in the far north, found the delivery-cost burden too great to bear, and were therefore obliged either to hope that new Tower issues would somehow trickle up to them,

or to turn to copper counterfeiters, who at least had the virtue of delivering their products for only a modest markup above cost.

The Mint thus found itself in a dilemma: it could either attempt, however inadequately, to satisfy desperate manufacturers at the cost of saddling many retailers with still more unwanted coins, or it could please those retailers who had more copper than they wanted by depriving manufacturers of legitimate means for paying their workers. Counterfeiting seemed to be encouraged either way, because in one case counterfeiters were rewarded by a ready supply of raw material to work with, while in the other they profited from people's willingness to accept even obvious and shoddy forgeries for want of anything better.

For a generation starting in 1775 the Mint elected to follow the second strategy, producing no copper coins at all. In the meantime, the Mint's output of silver coin continued to be a mere trickle. Some sense of the severity of the small change shortage that followed may be garnered from a 1785 Mint estimate which, allowing for a downward adjustment to correct for an error in the Mint's production figures, placed the total outstanding nominal value of legitimate copper coin at £306,000, or about 3 shillings worth per person. This was far from generous, and especially so considering that silver coin was also in markedly short supply. Moreover, a large part of this small stock was resting in the coffers of retailers who did not need it, and who could only get rid of it by hooking-up with manufacturers struggling with the opposite plight. "The roots of the problem, " Sir John Craig (*ibid*, p. 252) rightly insists, "were not in the two score halfpence a head but their maldistribution":

Not only was there no power, had there been knowledge, to direct provision by the Mint towards or away from particular areas according to need; there was no

organization whatever...to redistribute the burdensome loads which silted up certain cities.

So long as Great Britain failed to officially recognize the fiduciary status of its silver and copper coins, it could not be expected to take seriously the requirements for having an *adequate* token coinage, and especially the requirement that such a coinage be safeguarded from counterfeiting. And so long as it did not have an adequate token coinage, the government felt compelled to retain the semblance, if not the reality, of bimetallism. Great Britain's blundered-into gold standard was, therefore, forced to lead a shadowy existence, playing mistress to an economy still wedded, in the eyes of the law, to silver, while giving birth and sustenance to a bastard small change system that public authorities disavowed. And in this ignoble status gold would remain until or unless John Bull broke his vows with the less-precious metal, while conferring legitimacy upon the nation's token coinage. That, of course, meant finding a way of distinguishing coins issued by the Royal Mint from others, so that counterfeits might not make claims against the royal estate. Regrettably, as far as the Mint was concerned, no foolproof method was at hand for doing this: its own tokens and those made in Birmingham's back alleys were, in at least some instances, as indistinguishable as identical twins.

Making Do

How did employers cope with coin shortages? Some simply "spent days riding from place to place" in search of shillings or halfpennies, paying a premium for them if they had to (Ashton 1962, p. 99). Others resorted to the partial substitution of payment in kind for money payments, bucking the trend that had given rise to the "waged proletariat" in the first place. In fact almost every trade offered its workers some sort of non-monetary remuneration, often consisting of waste products, each known by precise if peculiar argot:

cabbage to the tailor, blue-pigeon flying to the plumbers and glaziers, chippings to the ship-rights, sweepings to porters, red sail docking to navy yard workers, flints and thrums to weavers, vails to servants, privileges to west country clothiers, bontages to Scottish agricultural workers, scrapings and naxeses to coopers, wastages to framework knitters

and so on.³ Skilled workmen and apprentices were, on the other hand, often supplied with raw materials and tools, the costs of which were deducted from their money wages. Finally, large factories and mines ran company stores or Tommy shops (where goods could be purchased with Tommy tickets or notes), or made arrangements with local retailers, so as to pay their workers by truck, or (what amounted to the same thing) to

³ The terms' meanings can generally be guessed. "Thrums," for example, are web ends left in a loom after removal of finished cloth. The quoted passage is from an article by P. Linebaugh, as summarized in the *Bulletin of the Society for Studies of Labour History* 25 (1972), p. 13.

allow them to shop on credit on the understanding that their accounts would be settled through deductions from their pay (Rule 1992, pp. 180-9).

While some economic historians (e.g. Hilton 1960) have treated the persistence of truck as a means for circumventing wage regulations, while others (e.g. John Styles 1983, p. 184) blame it on workers' fondness for "old customs," there's no denying that shortages of good money perpetuated the practice (see, for example, Unwin 1924, pp. 197ff). Indeed, far from making life easier for either employers or their workers, reliance upon truck was often an all-around nuisance, as well as a potent generator of industrial ill will. "The system," the Hammonds (1917, p. 67) observe, "poisoned the relations of masters and men, and it vitiated the calculations of the wages paid." Journeymen complained that their employers assigned inflated values to equipment and materials they supplied, while factory, canal, and mine workers, conscious of similarly "stuffed" prices at company stores, resented pay practices that forced them and their families to obtain necessities on credit, which often meant either patronizing the factory shop or going without toiletries, fuel, or food:

You Boatsmen and colliers all,
Come listen to my ditty,
I'll sing you a song before its long,
It is both new and pretty;
It is concerning the Tommy shops,
And the high field ruffian
He pays you with a tommy note,
You must have that or nothing
 Fal de riddle ral...
Then to the tommy shops we go,
To fetch our week's provision,
Their oatmeal, sugar, salt and soap,
Short weight and little measure...
Saying if we had money instead of this,
Provisions we could have plenty,
The profit they get out of us,
Is nine shillings out of twenty...⁴

On the other hand, where workers were allowed partial payment in leftovers, the line separating perquisite from purloining was often vaguely drawn. With means of payment left literally lying around, the temptation to pilfer was great, and workers "saw to it that the crumbs from their master's table were ample" (Ashton, 1955, p. 209), making poor use of raw materials in order to better remunerate themselves. In many instances abuses added up to what T.S. Ashton termed "barefaced robbery" (ibid). Receivers did a brisk business with Sheffield nailors, who helped themselves to whole spools of wire, and with Birmingham brass workers, who did the same with metal pieces and valuable floor sweepings. Colliers thought nothing of adding an extra draught or two to their coal

⁴ From John Raven, *The Urban & Industrial Songs of the Black Country and Birmingham*. Wolverhampton: Broadside, 1977, pp. 53-4).

allowances, while ship-rights could be spied taking home "chips" that looked suspiciously like full lengths of timber.

In more than a few cases, it should be admitted, embezzlement affected a kind of crude justice, as when workers in the Royal dockyards allowed themselves interest, in the form of sailcloth, on wage payments that were often months in arrears (Rule *Vital*, p. 185). According to Ashton (1955, p. 209), "there was a close connection between 'long pay' and embezzlement," both practices being ultimately attributable, at least in part, to the shortage of small change. However official justice was blind to such extenuating circumstances, and many a poor worker ended up in gaol for merely attempting to approximate the compensation he or she had been promised to begin with.

Evidence from the Royal dockyards (where government investigations have left us with an unusual wealth of information) also provides some idea of the extent to which in-kind perks might supplement cash payments. Thanks at least in part to the new regal copper coins produced starting in 1797 by Matthew Boulton's Soho Mint, the Navy was able to end the custom (and much of the extensive pilfering that went with it) of granting its workers customary allotments of chips, by commuting them into cash payments. Asked how much coin they would accept instead of their daily armful, the workers stipulated, and got, 8d—almost a third again of their daily monetary wages prior to the reform.

Predictably, as the shortage of good small money became more severe, the problem of purloining of materials grew worse, as reflected in increasing penalties as well as in increasing arrests. In 1703 a worker found guilty of the offence had "merely" to forfeit twice the value of whatever he or she stood accused of pilfering, with corporal punishment in the offing for those who could not or would not pay the requisite fine. In 1740 prosecution costs (or more lashes or stock time) were added to the old penalty. Nine years later what had formerly been treated as a mere breach of contract was made a crime punishable by fourteen days imprisonment; and in 1777 the sentence was lengthened to three months for a first offence and to six for repeat offenders (Ashton, p. 210).

Another way in which employers dealt with coin shortages was by arranging payments so as to minimize the need for small denomination coin, without otherwise altering their money wage bills. Some manufacturers resorted to group pay, asking several employees to share a gold guinea or half guinea, or a banknote, and thereby forcing them to drink and shop together (Craig 1953, 247; Bell 1963, 9). Although this practice wasn't particularly onerous when the "group" consisted of members of the same family, as was sometimes the case, the rest of the time it was a pain in the neck. So was the equally common practice of "long pay," in which workers were forced to wait several Saturdays instead of just one or two between reckonings. Some firms also staggered wage payments so as to allow the same batch of coins to do double or even triple duty: one Lancashire cotton spinner paid a third of his workers first thing in the morning, and then let them go to town so that he could retrieve coins they'd spent from the shopkeepers and victuallers later that same day, to use in paying a second group of workers. Most of the coins were recovered again by early evening, for use in a third and final round of payments (Ashton 1962, pp. 99-100).

A less cumbersome way of making available coins go further involved the setting up so-called "pay tables" at ale houses. This practice saved employers the trouble of

retrieving surplus coins from pubs only to have them taken back the same evening. Besides avoiding unnecessary as well as risky movements of money, pay tables allowed employers to reduce their wage bills by deducting their workers' bar tabs, kept since the beginning of the workweek, which employers would settle collectively—using guineas or banknotes—at closing time or afterwards. At three pennies a quart, with exhausted workers from the more arduous trades handily consuming a gallon or more each evening, such deductions could reduce employers' wage bills substantially, and especially so if they made a point of delaying payments until eight, nine, or ten o'clock Saturday evening. Many saw this practice as a conspiracy between employers and brewers, holding it to have been deliberately aimed at encouraging workers to tipple:

But if to an alehouse they customers be,
Then presently with the ale wife we agree;
When we come to a reckoning, then we do crave
Twopence on a shilling, and that we will have,
By such cunning ways we our treasure do get,
For it is all fish that doth come to our net.⁵

Tippling was, to be sure, a serious problem, with many a poor worker returning home after midnight, as bereft of money as ever, and drunk to boot. Wives complained; blows were struck; arrests were frequent; and the acolytes of Saint Monday multiplied (George 1925, pp. 287ff):

And when at night he staggers home, he knows not what to say;
A fool is more a man than he upon a fuddling day
For it's drink, drink, smoke, smoke, drink, drink away
There is no pleasure in the house upon a fuddling day!

But there's no need to suppose that employers were in league with brewers or publicans, or that they were otherwise interested in promoting domestic unrest, which reduced their own firms' productivity, after all. They resorted to pay tables solely because they could not otherwise meet their wage bills. Had there been enough good coin, they might have served their own interests best by combining wage payments with Sunday sermons, or by otherwise removing their workers as far as possible from any temptation to imbibe.

TO BE CONTINUED

⁵ From *The Clothier's Delight*, reproduced in Mantoux, pp. 75-7.



PROVINCIAL COPPER COINS.

GREAT Variety having been circulated since 1787, not only in Great Britain, but Ireland and the Isle of Wight, and it being difficult to procure any Thing like a complete Series of them, the Engraver of the above Specimen having paid great Attention in collecting them together, submits to the Curious in Coins and Medals the following

PROPOSALS,

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF

<p>Miss BANKS, <i>Soho Square</i> Rev. Dr. SOUTHGATE, <i>the British Museum</i> Mr. MORE, <i>Secretary to the Society of Arts</i> Mr. PINGO, <i>of the MINT</i> Mr. MILTON, <i>of the MINT</i> Mr. NAYLER, <i>of the Herald's Office</i></p>	<p>MATTHEW BOULTON, <i>Esq. Soho</i> M. R. BOULTON, <i>Esq.</i> J. G. HANCOCK, <i>Artist, Birmingham</i> Mr. YOUNG, <i>Silversmith, Ludgate-hill</i> Mr. NICHOLS, <i>Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine</i> Mr. MILTON, <i>Engraver, London</i> Mr. COLLINS, <i>Maise Hill, Greenwich.</i></p>
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I. That PLATES be engraved according to the above Specimen, each Plate to contain FIVE COINS.

II. That THREE Plates constitute a Number, Price TWO SHILLINGS and SIX-PENCE.

III. That NUMBER I. be published on the FIRST of AUGUST next, and to be continued (if proper Encouragement be given) the first of each succeeding Month, until the Series is gone through, which it is expected will be completed in SEVEN NUMBERS.

IV. SPECIMENS may be seen, and SUBSCRIPTIONS received by Mr. NICHOLS, Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street; Mr. BALDWIN, Paternoster Row; Messrs. EGERTONS, Charing Cross; Mr. DEBRETT, Piccadilly; Mr. RICHARDSON, Royal Exchange, London; Mr. PEARSON and Mr. SWINNEY, and also by C. PYE, Engraver, Birmingham.

N. B. A few PROOFS will be taken on LARGE PAPER,
at FIVE SHILLINGS each Number.

JULY 1, 1794.

The exceedingly rare prospectus for Pye's
Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens, etc.
tipped into the front of the Bushnell copy

PROVINCIAL
Copper Coins OR Tokens,
issued between the Years
1787 and 1796,
Engraved by Charles Pye,
OF
BIRMINGHAM
From the originals in his own Possession.



*Published for the Engraver, by John Nichols Red-Lion passage, Fleet Street,
and T. Egerton, Whitehall, London; & Tho. Pearson, Birmingham.*

**Britannia contemplates a medal of George III
on the title page of the 1796 edition of Pye**



Norfolk No. 17

An "Even" Dozen

Tom Fredette



Norfolk.

In addition to his respected works on Late 18th and Early 19th century British tokens, R.C. Bell was also the author of a small, but important, volume which lists and describes farthing token issues used in Great Britain between the years 1812 and 1870. The book is called *Unofficial Farthings*. One becomes aware while looking over the pages of this book, that unlike the custom in other periods of British token use, these small cards apparently had to function in actual commerce rather than find themselves being used just as much for artistic and medalllic purposes, as were the Late 18th century token issues. The writer was struck by the fact that many of the designs and devices used on these small tokens are reminiscent of a number of the designs and devices used on "Conder" tokens. There are many in common. Let's take a look at an "even" dozen and explore in our minds the reasons, which must be connected to basic human values, why these similarities exist. Why have certain symbols always ended up meaning the same things to people the world over?



NOTTINGHAM.

The device of a beehive, sometimes shown with working bees, is a universal symbol. It is shown on the reverse of the halfpenny token of Donald & Co. A similar image is present on the farthing token of _____. Scholey, a merchant from Staffordshire. The beehive can be symbolic of unity and the values of hard work and accomplishment.



Staffordshire No. 42

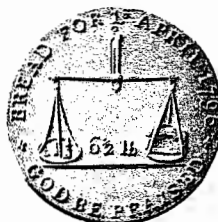
The farthing token of J.R. Seekings, a tea and coffee dealer from Birmingham uses the balance or scales to advertise his business. It is shown suspended over a tea-chest. The same symbol is shown on Badminton halfpenny tokens which, according to D&H were "... connected with a period of scarcity of corn." The scales usually reminds one of fairness or equity, which certainly is a universal, as well as instinctive, ideal.



Warwickshire No. 2



BADMINTON.





GOSPORT.



Kent No. 3

Occasionally, Great Britain had to act sometimes in a martial, warlike, way to protect her empire. We find a reference to those interests depicted on the penny token of Gosport No. 2 - the British Standard between four flags. The practical value of empire also resulted in the necessity to maintain arsenals and artillerists. The token of Gregory Browne shows a cannon and cannon balls. Britain, like other nations, was always ready to protect what was hers.

On our next token we see the use of a familiar nautical symbol - the fouled anchor. It is present on the token of Jones, Webb & Co. of Lancashire. Bell's note suggests that "... they may have been ship's husbands; a seafarer's term for a ship's chandler." The same symbol is shown on Dorsetshire half-penny No. 2. Britain's reliance on her navy is evidenced on both of these tokens.



Lancashire No. 33

Dorsetshire.



WASHINGTON SERIES.



Lancashire No. 62

The spread eagle is seen on a number of Late 18th century tokens. One token which shows this device nicely is in the Washington series - Mdx. 242. It is shown as the adopted symbol of a new nation. It represented sovereignty. Labrey, Entwisle & Co. also use the spread eagle on their farthing token. But in this case, it seems to have more value as a company logo. They were taking advantage of the evocative nature of the spread eagle symbol - freedom.

Next, we find that the use of a coat of arms is very common on British tokens. And this is reflected on the farthing token of S. Lessy, a grocer and tea dealer. His token shows the arms of the borough of Yarmouth, which uses lions in the design. This can be contrasted with the much simpler design showing the arms of Guildford. It has always been important for communities to show their pride - to tell their story. Coats of arms and shields of arms do this very well and they show up frequently on British trade tokens.



Norfolk No. 20

GUILDFORD.



The lion is the king of beasts and the British lion was a symbol recognizable to the many subjects of the empire. The animal is present on the token of T. Wilson & Son (see p.1, top) a baker from Norwich. A different pose is shown on the C. James' penny-sized medalion , Mdx. No. 32. It was a symbol used to portray the regal nature of the British government and the pride of its people.



Norfolk No. 18



JAMES'.



CROYDON.

Norfolk No. 21



In the 18th and 19th centuries the tea business was big business for Great Britain. We see references to tea merchants throughout the British token series. On the halfpenny token of Croyden, a teapot represents one merchant's advertisement for tea. He felt that he had the "Best teas in Croyden." A more straightforward approach to the matter was taken by F. Mayston of Yarmouth. This is a good example of a business in which a farthing token would be useful.

Another favorite design device of this writer is the wheat sheaf. It is a symbol which can be understood in different ways. As an "unofficial farthing" we see it on a token which was probably used in a pub. An elegant design, Bell tells us that it is a very rare token. Halfpenny token No. 380 from the Middlesex series shows a Late 18th century version of this symbol. The inscription "Peace Plenty & Liberty" alludes to the several meanings of the wheat sheaf.



Somerset No. 7



Middlesex.



Warwickshire No. 52



And a cask, or barrel is depicted on the token of Neeton, Mdx. No. 390. It is a familiar symbol on tokens as well as coins, having been used as a mint mark on the coins of Elizabeth & James I. The cask is also shown "...upended between a sugar loaf and a tea chest" on the farthing token of J. Scott, a tea dealer from Birmingham.



GENERAL CONVENIENCE.



Co. Limerick No. 7

"Industry Supplieth Want" is the motto which is shown on the next to last token in this survey. It shows a plow and the motto reminds us of the sentiment alluded to in the symbol of the beehive. The Middlesex halfpenny token No. 1020 is listed as struck for "General Convenience." Continuing with this sentiment, is the Irish farthing token of Unthank & Sons, merchants from Limerick. Their card shows a shuttle above a plow in its design. It probably was meant to recognize the agrarian nature of the community in which it was intended to be used.

And lastly, if there was one prohibition which, if violated, would bring an end to a token series, it is the placement of a stated value on a token. The Crown frowned upon it at the same time it was overlooked. The Irish defied the British government, placing the clearly stated and unequivocal value of **One Farthing** on many of the tokens from this country. The token issue from Basingstoke, also having a stated value, was more circumspect in this regard. According to D&H, this token was "Said to have passed current among the workmen engaged in making the canal."



Mc.Culla, R.

Co. Armagh No. 2.

SHILLING.
BASINGSTOKE.



There are many ways to look at tokens and to appreciate them. It is useful to recognize that in practically all cases, they came into being at a time of shortage of small change. The common person, hurt the most by the situation, had to solve the problem brought about by the shift from the farms to the city. It is only natural then that the common interests of those who had to solve this problem would result in common symbols easily recognized which would make the token easier to use. A careful overview of the tokens of the Late 18th century as well as the farthing tokens of the Early to Mid-19th century helps to support this idea.

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Obverse

ADMIRAL ADAM DUNCAN The Forgotten Admiral



Reverse

In our historical period of concern, Admiral Horatio Nelson is one of the great prominent figures of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries. Although he is only one of more than half a dozen such dominating historical characters, he is undoubtedly the best known of the famous **naval** officers. Concerning our British Provincial tokens, we need only go to the county of Hampshire to discover tokens of other naval officers besides Admiral Nelson. The port cities of Southampton, Portsmouth, Gosport, Portsea and especially Emsworth were naturally proud to commemorate on their tokens English admirals and their ships - "the wooden walls." On these tokens, we will find such admirals as Earl Howe, Lord Bridport, Lord Hood, MacBride and Sir John Jervis. Admiral Jervis, you will remember was Nelson's commander in the battle of Cape Saint Vincent off the coast of Spain in February 14, 1797 where Nelson first showed his naval prowess.



#13

Earl Howe



Lord Bridport #97



Lord Hood #99



Adm. McBride #112



#66

Adm. Jervis

However, to find Admiral Lord Duncan, we must go to Scotland and the county of Aberdeenshire and the city of Dundee. In Dalton and Hamer, on page 403, and for token #6, we see recorded that Duncan was born in Dundee in 1731. I have yet to ever have seen this token in real life. It evidently was a privately issued token. In the introductory notes to this section by Dalton and Hamer, opposite page 402, they record that the token was designed by Wright. They seem to be as much puzzled by the design on the reverse as I am. The obverse is a full bust of Admiral Lord Duncan, while the reverse is the image of the garden of Eden with Adam and Eve and including the serpent around the tree. Because of the inscription "2300 Inhabitants in Dundee Vid. Statistical Account by R. Small, D.D." Dalton and Hamer construe this to mean the increase in population will supply more men for the navy! Generally I find children are named after a close relative, and certainly the name Adam occurs frequently enough in times before the Admiral's birth. Hence I can't find much connection between Adam Duncan and Adam and Eve, although the first Scottish Adam was surely named after the Biblical character. My feeling is the concept of the Garden of Eden and the exergue legend "Be Fruitful And Multiply, Gen. 1.28" came first to mind and then the thought of Adam Duncan followed after. If we turn to page 213 in Bell's *Tradesmen's Tickets And Private Tokens, 1785-1819*, we find the diesinker was Wyon

and the manufacturer was Kempson. According to Bell, "On a mount in base the tree of Paradise, (sic) is the Arms of the Incorporated Company of Fruiterers." Thus the apple and "Be Fruitful.," and as suggested by Bell, this was the proprietor of the private token. Bell evidently wrote this in 1964 for he gives the population of Dundee as 183,560 for that year. I wonder what the population is today?

Nearly forgotten today, Admiral Adam Duncan, (1731-1804), as we will see, was by far one of the most respected and popular commanders amongst his various crews, and this much we know for certain. When it comes to writing history of many of the British naval commanders of the late Eighteenth Century, with the one big exception, less ready information is forth coming for several reasons. Yes, there are ships logs, official naval communications and archived records, but personal correspondence and character descriptions written by acquaintances are much rarer. Thus the private thoughts and idiosyncrasies of the man that make up his personality are much harder to ascertain. To run a fleet of "men of war" in those days was very demanding and time consuming with the difficulties of navigation, keeping a log, giving commands and observing weather and sea conditions. During the long periods of isolation at sea, there was little opportunity for the times of intimate contact with English social life that would have produced a written personal record. I have found this same sort of spotty information occurring with army commanders of the same period but to a lesser degree.

So far, I have obtained only one book on Adam Duncan, not that I have completely exhausted all possibilities. This book is a quaintly designed, small pocket sized volume, one of the Westminster Biographies series, published in London. I would guess it was published at about the turn of the century - 1900. It has no publication date, but under "Bibliographic Notes" the latest date is 1899. It has only 156 pages, including those biographical notes and no index. Yet there is a nice chronology of Duncan's life in front, before the main body of text. Also in the author's preface, he says, "...very few papers or letters dealing with the private life and personality of the admiral survive."¹ Still I hope to show Adam Duncan had a strong dominating but likeable character, and that he had considerable naval tactical skill. Though in some respects we can compare him to Lord Nelson, especially in the way their careers paralleled, there is still a lot of contrast.

Being born in Lundie near Dundee, in Scotland; we can speculate a lot about his Scottish heritage since his date of birth indicates there was still a great deal of resentment and antagonism between Scotland and England. But it does the story of Duncan an injustice to do this speculation about his Scottish background for there are few facts to support these conjectures. History tells us Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Stewart claimant to the throne tried to recapture the English crown in the 1740's. It is interesting to note that Adam Duncan at 15 joined the English navy just about six months after the April 16, 1746 crushing defeat of the Stewart pretender's battle of Culloden. As for Duncan's early naval indoctrination and training, much of it would have taken place during the conflict known as the Seven Years War. To American historians, this war is known as the French and Indian War. Adam, at this time, served under Viscount Keppel and would have been in his twenties and would end the conflict with the rank of lieutenant in January 1755 at the age of 24.

1. H.W. Wilson, *Adam Duncan* (London, c1900, p.ix).

There is some confusion about his father and how many brothers he had. His father was Alexander Duncan, apparently a courageous and learned man. Some sources record him as having two elder brothers, possibly confusing one Alexander with his father. John Duncan, the elder brother, may have joined the army, served for a time in India and died in China before he could have achieved much. We will hear more about Duncan's commander Keppel later. But I need to mention the attack on the French settlement of Goree on the coast of Africa in about 1758 because First Lt. Duncan got shot in the leg in this action. This was the first and only wound received by Adam in battle. At this point, we do not need to list the sequence of ships Adam served in until he reaches the rank of admiral. There was one misadventure which is worth mentioning. He was placed in charge of a miscellaneous petty convoy of merchant ships manned by commercial seaman not under the rule of the English navy discipline. We do not know for sure what young Adam Duncan learned from this experience. Maybe he learned as a leader, you can get satisfactory results by persuasion instead of by harsh orders and by heavy use of the lash. In any case, he was saved within a few months since the convoy was disbanded out of a misunderstanding. During periods when England was not at war, naval officers were inactivated at half pay, and Lt. Duncan next was without a command for many years. That is, until his marriage in 1777. He married Henrietta Dundas the daughter of Robert Dundas of Arniston and Lord-president of the court of sessions. This was a powerful Scottish family, and a very favorable alliance for Adam. It should be revealed that Henry Dundas, (1742-1811) later Viscount Melville; was the brother of Robert and became an important figure in the government during our decade. Consequently Adam Duncan got his desired command. In 1778 a new war with France began, and he was assigned to the Channel fleet. For us Americans, it will be remembered after the defeat of the British General Burgoyne at Saratoga in 1777, the French joined us and engaged Britain. At this time, Duncan had the awkward experience of sitting on the court-martial of his former superior, Admiral Augustus Keppel. Keppel was acquitted in 1779 since it was found out it was not his fault but bad communications which caused him not to follow an order. Evidently during this trial, Duncan made a pain of himself by making perverted comments and asking embarrassing questions of the prosecution. He also sat on the corresponding Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser's court-martial involving the same incident a few months later. The admiralty tried to keep him off for his previous behavior, but due to a late sailing of his ship he attended. For Adam Duncan, the American War of Independence mainly meant action with the Channel fleet under Sir Charles Hardy or later for the relief of Gibraltar sailing with Admiral Rodney. In about 1781, near the end of the American conflict, in the ship *Monarch*, he was ordered to the West Indies. This put the Commodore in a difficult position since twenty years earlier he had served there and had become gravely ill. Now his doctor advised him that his constitution would not allow him under any circumstance to return there. For this reason he was forced to resign his command of the *Monarch*. Normally this kind of behavior would signal the end of an officer's career. It is significant to point out that in his particular situation it appeared not to be the case as he was back in command of even a better ship in less than a year. So in the *Blenheim* of ninety guns he went off with Admiral Howe for the second relief of Gibraltar. Next, he protected the port of Portsmouth in a guardship for three uneventful years reaching the rank of Vice-admiral.

At this point, it is a good time to observe something about famous naval officers. A commander of a ship can have fabulous tactical naval talent, but if he never has the opportunity to demonstrate that talent, he may go down in history as just another sea captain. We can also note that often times it is the deviation from standard practice or regulations which brings a seaman to the notice of his superiors. Sometimes this is to his advantage - sometimes it is not. Up to the year of 1793, and the beginning of the revolutionary French war with England, neither Nelson nor Duncan had any great outstanding recognition of a special tactical prowess with the admiralty. For comparison, we must indicate the differences in age between Adam Duncan and Horatio Nelson. Adam was born 1731 and Horatio was born in 1758, or 27 years later. They both had served in the West Indies, but at vastly different times. They both had seen considerable combat and both been wounded. Duncan we know was shot in the leg, but more seriously, Nelson had lost an eye when a bit of gravel scattered by shot found its way to his eye. Both had periods of inactivity without commands. Both had served also on court-martials. And most importantly, both were greatly admired and respected by the men who served under them. This respect was only to improve with time as they gained in rank. Duncan made full admiral in 1795 at age 64.

Now we come to Admiral Jervis' victory at Cape St. Vincent in 1797 for which he got a peerage (although not an earldom.) Nelson's exploits are well known, and we will be reminded that he took some liberties with normal regulations but wisely in order for his success. Wearing around, turning in the opposite direction, he was able to attack the vanguard of the Spanish fleet instead of waiting his turn at the end of the British line. Nelson's choice turned out well since his associate, Collingwood in another ship, followed his lead. In any case, Nelson was rewarded with the Cross of the Bath and promoted to Rear-admiral at age 39. Meanwhile, Duncan was in charge of the North Sea fleet, one of the three most important fleets of the British navy, which included the Channel fleet and the Mediterranean fleet. The Channel fleet always had the best ships, and when good frigates were needed elsewhere they were removed from the North Sea fleet. It was Admiral Duncan's calm and determined attitude which kept the North Sea fleet efficient under these trying circumstances. Yet we must grant that this situation did not give Duncan much opportunity to show his special naval abilities since there was no large body of an enemy fleet to be encountered there.

Any one of us who has ever read stories of the olden days of the wooden sailing ships knows how hard the times were for seamen. For instance, I just recently learned soap was not issued to the British navy until 1808. When it comes to the five demands made by the Spithead seamen faction, it will be observed these demands did not include petty complaints or lessening of cruel or harsh and unjust punishments. Basically the five demands were: better wages, better food provisions on board ship, improved care for the sick seamen aboard, improved opportunities for liberty ashore when in port and that pay for wounded in action would not be lost until they were discharged. In 1795 was when the first indication of the extreme discontent among the lower ranks portended the possibility that a major naval mutiny might take place. This would be two years before the Great Naval Mutiny. In Duncan's area of command, in the ship *Defiance* a party of seamen rose up, flung round shot about the between decks to show their animosity. These mutineers had a long list of

complaints which were not addressed at the time, but only where summary punishment was given. Clearly Lord Spencer, the Lord of the Admiralty and his subordinates were blind to the seaman's conditions. However, Admiral Duncan was not among these blind leaders, and he realized the many wrongs committed upon the seamen. He has been recorded as making many representations on behalf of the men, and he made private correspondence with Lord Spencer. Therefore it should not have been a tremendous surprise to the authorities when the great mutiny explosion occurred that spring of 1797. The first outbreak of mutiny occurred at the Spithead anchorage east of Portsmouth about March and was relatively peaceful. The second and more tragic mutiny happened at the Great Nore anchorage in the Thames Channel in mid-May. Admiral Duncan, charged as North Sea fleet commander, was ordered to watch the Dutch fleet at the Texel base in Holland, and keep it bottled up. The French had captured the Dutch fleet, and it was expected the fleet would try to sail to Ireland and make an invasion there to support an effort for Irish independence. This Nore mutiny could not come at a worse time, especially for Admiral Duncan and his duty to watch the Dutch fleet. Also, at this time, there was a large amount of French forces at Brest and Dunkirk in which the British supposition was that there would be an attempt at an invasion of England. Duncan's original fleet consisted of thirteen ships of the line, fourteen frigates, some smaller craft and eight Russian ships. By noon on 29 May, Admiral Duncan was with only his flag ship *Venerable* and the *Adamant* not taking part in the British mutiny. It is to Admiral Duncan's credit that his personal influence persuaded these two ship's crews not to abandon him. And with these two ships only, he proceeded to block the Dutch in the Texel. How did he accomplish this? He kept his two remaining ships close in so that they could be seen from on shore, and he had them signal as to phantom ships further out beyond sight of land. Of course the prevailing winds helped him also by making it difficult for the Dutch to leave the harbour. It was the British practice in situations of blockading ports to keep one ship close in and the rest of the fleet well out to sea, so the admiral's ploy worked brilliantly. Concerning Duncan's ability to keep his two crews from mutinying, we only need to look at his past record. He was in favor of a naval militia, (which finally did come about decades later) instead of the current practice of the atrocious press gangs. By 9 June, the mutiny crisis had passed to the extent that several ships, now came to Duncan's assistance, and all through the summer months Admiral Duncan was able to maintain the Dutch blockade.

It was not until October 9, 1797, that the signal was given that the Dutch had managed to get to sea, and this was startling news. Unfortunately, over the long summer and with fall storms, Admiral Duncan's fleet was in need of refitting and resupply. Some ships had been sent elsewhere while others were sent for refitting to Yarmouth. This was Duncan's location when the news of the Dutch escape arrived. Duncan, without a moments hesitation set sail with eleven ships. The puzzling question is, why did the Dutch venture to sea at this juncture as its invasion army had been set ashore, and their naval crews and ships were known to be in very poor condition. Historians tell us it was a political decision as the Dutch naval commander-in-chief, Admiral de Winter was against it. De Winter was forty miles down the coast when he got word the British were coming, and he turned north back towards Texel. The Dutch ships were designed with shallow draft for use in their own home waters while the British ships had deep draft for ocean sailing. De Winters was fifteen miles from safety and not too far off shore. Upon spotting the Dutch line of ships, Duncan

quickly realized de Winter was very close to the safety of the shoals where his own fleet could not sail. A pilot on Duncan's ship warned him, "It's awful shallow, Sir." "Go on at your peril." Duncan is reported to have said. "I'll fight the ships on land if I cannot by sea."2. This great sea battle was to take place about five miles off shore from a small village called Kamperduin which gave its name to it. Here again we see where proper naval regulations were not followed. Ordinarily Duncan should have gathered his ships in line and come up against his adversary's line abreast. But seeing the Dutch proximity to the shallow waters he felt it was necessary to pass through their line individually and get to the leeward side and cut off their retreat into the shoal waters. The date was 11 October, Duncan's ship's numbers were not more than equal to the Dutch, and the battle was long and bloody. It is important to point out his fleet, due to the hasty departure from Britain was very much in a hodgepodge condition not use to working together at this time. Also some important men and officers had by the necessity for haste been left ashore. Despite the Dutch sailors being out of shape and sickly, they were not like the Spanish and French, but were good gunners, and they put up a good fight. It is interesting to realize the villagers along the coast reported observing the battle from the dunes. Because of Duncan's unusual approach to the battle it was a melee and free-for-all. Though the Dutch were good gunners, Duncan's men fired three shots to de Winter's two. I will not here go into the awful gore of this kind of naval fighting other than to say the most frequent injury was not from ball or cutlass but by wood splinter. Another interesting fact is that on the British ship the *Ardent*, one of the men's wives assisted in firing a gun and refused to go below when told to. Duncan's men captured seven battleships, two 50 gun ships and two frigates, totalling eleven of the 15 Dutch ships. In other words, more than half of the strength of the Dutch navy, and this effectively eliminated any Dutch naval threat for the near future. The total British losses were 228 killed, 812 wounded, but to us today this is hard to relate to. The consequence for Admiral Adam Duncan was upon returning to Sheerness he was now Viscount Duncan of Camperdown. Many thought he should have gotten an earldom like Earl Howe, in particular Duncan's wife! There was much rejoicing as with other recent great battles but particularly for its two important aspects. First, the destruction and loss of the Dutch fleet to the French, but also the lessening of an Irish invasion. In the following year Admiral Duncan received his prize money of 10,000 pounds as an installment for all his principal officers. This included Captain Bligh who had never before obtained any prize money. These prize monies were the source of squabbles for years to come.

Some final thoughts are appropriate now about Admiral Adam Duncan's span of life between 1731 and 1804 and a little beyond. First there were six fabulously successful British naval battles between 1794 and 1805: The Glorious First of June, 1794, by Howe; Cape St. Vincent, 1797, by Jervis (8 months previous to Camperdown); Camperdown, October, 1797; The Battle of the Nile, 1798, by Nelson; Copenhagen, 1801, by Nelson; and Trafalgar, 1805, by Nelson. There is no question Lord Nelson's battles were all superior. But we need to look at Admiral Howe's and Admiral Jervis' battles more closely. I am not trying to take away from these two in any way from the successes they achieved, but rather I am trying to emphasize the success of Camperdown. The First of June, led by Admiral Howe with 26

2. James Dugan, *The Great Mutiny* (U.S.A., 1965), p. 401.

British ships against 26 French ships captured only six prizes. Worst yet, was the fact that most of the French fleet escaped so as to be a threat in the future. In the Cape St. Vincent battle, a British fleet of fifteen sail captured four of the Spanish. The Spanish had a total of 26 ships in convoy, but seven were too far east to be considered in the engagement. Of the nineteen in the actual battle, one division of nine was west of the line of ten in parallel formation. Though Admiral Jervis in a certain sense was fighting 15 against 10, his decision to fight was most courageous because to him it was really 15 to 19. Nevertheless the Spanish ships on the second division were not in a good position to take much part in the action. In this engagement, as said before, the British took four prizes, but if Commodore Nelson had not taken the unordered initiative to swing about and attack the Spanish vanguard there may have been even much less. As we have seen, the action at Camperdown was far more valuable in success for the British with the near total destruction of the Dutch and the eleven prizes. Though Admiral Duncan probably should be thought the greater admiral than Jervis, I think the latter is better known. When you take into consideration the great respect Duncan's men held for him, I feel the weight of evidence for greatness is thrown in Admiral Duncan's favor. Rather than comparing Duncan with Admiral Nelson, one should make the match between him and Admiral Jervis (1735-1823) since there is only four years difference in age. Also, they had nearly the same rank at the same time, yet Admiral Jervis' opportunity for greatness came eight months before Duncan's Camperdown. Admiral Jervis and Admiral Duncan, we note, were both promoted in the same year of 1787, Jervis to Rear-admiral and Duncan to Vice-admiral. It is also interesting to look at Britain's history of warfare during Adam Duncan's life span. England was at war from 1739 to 1748 in Stewart's attempt at restoration, and with a great deal of French help. From 1756 to 1763 it was the Seven Years War with France as one of the major antagonists. From 1775 to 1783 it was the War of American Independence, and as we have said before with French participation after 1777. Then comes the French Revolution of 1789 and their declaration of war in early 1793. There are two parts to the conflict this time with France. From 1793 to 1801, then there is a short armistice, and more conflict again from 1803 till the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815. The latter part is known as the Napoleonic Wars. In other words, Britain was at war, one time or another, half of the time during Duncan's life span.

In both 1801 and 1804, Adam Duncan volunteered his services in the navy, but by now he was in reality too old after having retired in 1800 and becoming seventy in 1801. As we know, he died in 1804, but it was quite suddenly after staying at an inn at the village of Cornhill on his way to Edinburgh. Adam Duncan was an outsized man for his times, recorded as being six feet and four inches in height. His breadth and strength were said to be in proportion to his height. We can imagine the impression this gigantic man would command amongst his crew as he trod upon his ship's deck. Yet we must remember he was an officer who had empathy with his crew. In addition, he is recorded as being handsome as well, but to us this is less important than his deeds. As history records, one of the most important eulogies given to Duncan's son after his father's death was from Admiral Nelson. "There is no man who more sincerely laments the heavy loss you have sustained than myself; but the name of Duncan will never be forgot by Britain, particularly by the navy..."³. This was written on October 4, 1804. And this would have been written only a little over one

3. *Dictionary of National Biography*, (London, 1987) pp. 159-161.

year before his own death. So why is Admiral Adam Duncan less remembered? Well certainly he has been over shadowed by this same Admiral Nelson. Unlike Nelson, Adam was a quiet family man without romantic transgressions and by tantalizing stories. Possibly, but not likely, because of his Scottish heritage. His heritage did not seem to effect his career in any way that we know of. Certainly as Nelson has indicated, the British navy will not easily forget Admiral Duncan in any of its traditions. And though his private token is quite rare, neither will we forget him as members of the Conder Token Collectors Club.

Richard Bartlett



Viscount Duncan of Camperdown

SKIDMORE CHURCHES IN THE CITY OF LONDON

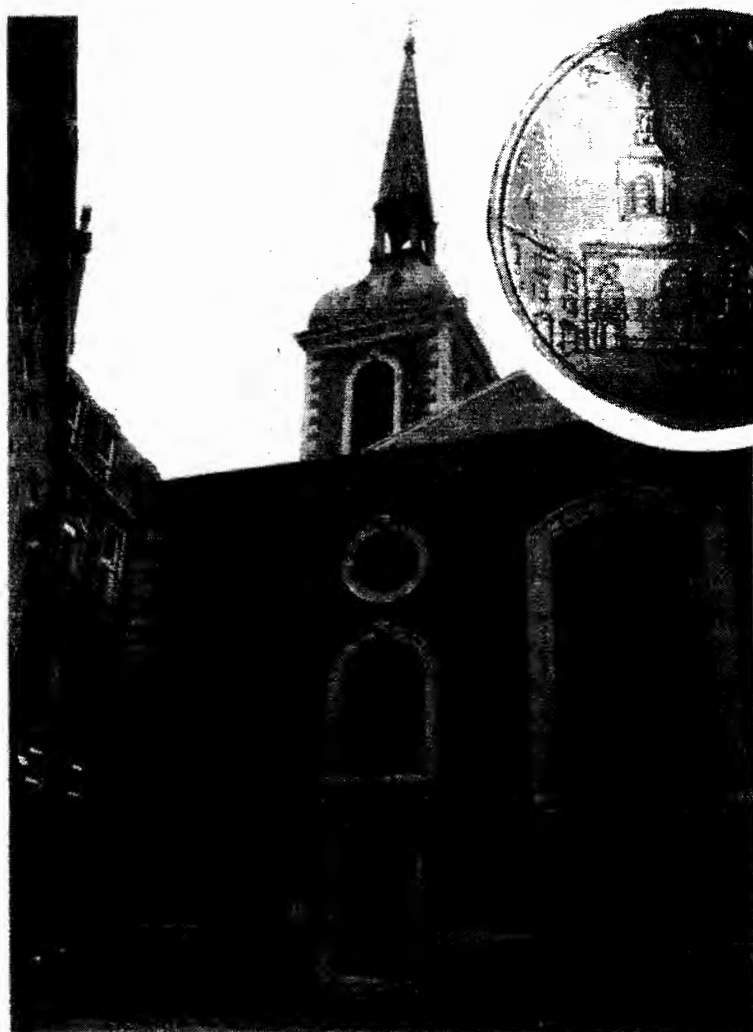
St. Mary Abchurch

St Mary Abchurch stands in a small paved square and has to be one of the most attractive of Wrens City churches; it has almost certainly changed the least since it was built in 1686. In early documents it is referred to as St Mary Upchurch, perhaps because to those at the priory of St Mary Overie to which it belonged, it was the church up river. After the churches destruction in the Great Fire, it took fifteen years before Wren could find time to start work, completion taking 5 years at a cost of £4922 2s 41/2d.

The building is square, built in pale red London brick with stone dressings tower and lead spire. The interior is superb, not surprisingly as Wren gathered together some of his most talented friends to assist with the decoration. The dome painted by William Snow and completed in 1708 covers the whole area of the church resulting in one large uninterrupted area without nave or aisles. Beneath it is some of the finest seventeenth century woodwork in the city all retaining its original dark colour. Pride of place must go to the reredos, which are the only authenticated work by Grinling Gibbons outside St. Paul's (signed receipts were found in a chest in 1946) In 1940 it was found after a bombing

raid to have been broken into 2,000 pieces and took 5 years to restore. The rest of the woodwork is pretty impressive too, a great testament to the quality of Wrens contemporaries.

After World War Two, the church was most sensitively restored, the architect being Godfrey Allen, the painting by Walter Hoyle. Below the church, remains the original vaulted crypt. Interestingly of all the photographs I have taken, this was the easiest to achieve the view of the token. However the brickwork to the left of the door is much wider today although that may just be perspective, otherwise little has changed.



THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POSTURE MASTER



MIDDLESEX 336b

10 April 1712

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Vice President USA and Librarian

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Saint Paul MN 55127
[651] 429-0997 tokenmann@aol.com

Vice President International

John Whitmore
Teynham Lodge Chase Road
Colwall Malvern Worcs.
Phone 01684 540651

Treasurer

Scott Loos
PO Box 2210
North Bend WA 98045
[425] 831-8789
scottloos@msn.com

Editor and Webmaster

Mike Grogan
6501 Middleburg Court
Mobile AL 36608
[251] 343-0005
mngrogan@comcast.net

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THE TOKEN EXCHANGE AND MART



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